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ties of the larger society which the company had joined. Meanwhile another group was meeting informally before it was admitted into one or other of the Societies. Since the Stars and Wolf-men were approximately even in number, there probably was a regular alternation. According to reasonable estimate, the Potbellies joined the Stars about 1840; the next group of young men would then have joined the Wolves, say in 1843 or 1844; the following company joining the Stars in about 1849–50.

If the Sacred Dances, except the Sacrifice Dance, were gone through in order, there would thus be several companies each year whose members were eligible to vow any one of the Dances, and our informants were all under the impression that one or more of the Dances was given each summer. It seems quite clear that the Law Enforcer Dance was vowed only by the older levels of the active warriors. After having gone through this rite, these men more or less retired as "old men," and, having "sat on the sage," acquired certain privileges and freedom denied to their fellow tribesmen who had not yet gone through this Dance. These "old men" acted as ceremonial grandfathers, i.e. sponsors and teachers, for others going through the various lodges, but were no longer active as Stars or Wolf-men. They became members of an undifferentiated group of elders, the ranks of their original company having no doubt been drastically thinned out by the time they would have arrived at this status.

If the above interpretation be correct, there would be three age divisions: the "young men," those meeting in companies; the "middle-aged, mature men," whose companies had joined either the Stars or the Wolf-men, and, having gone through the Fly Dance, were eligible to vow the other Dances; the "old men" who had gone through the Law Enforcer's Dance and were no longer active in the Star and Wolf-men societies, except two of their number, one of whom served as announcer in each.

The young men, who together formed the company, being of approximately the same age, were tied together by bonds of friendship and there were apparently not a few pairs of "inseparable friends" in each company. One of our informants, Cora Chandler, indicated that the bonds holding together the members of a company were so intimate that marriage between their children was

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Each society had its distinctive songs which would be used by its component companies in carrying out their police duties during the Sacred Dances. Both had their "begging songs," as well as their marching and dance songs. Everyone in camp would know from the songs which of the societies was performing.

In connection with the distinctive dance of either society was first the preliminary "begging." This meant that the members of the society, dressed in their best and mounted on their finest horses, would select the lodges of prominent men belonging to the opposite society in front of which they would sing.[14] The leaders of the society were supposed to be present on these begging expeditions, otherwise their enemy-friends could take advantage of their absence and twit them by singing a special song.[15] The members of the society might be accompanied by their wives, who helped out in the singing, and usually a member of the society would suggest that they sing in front of the lodge belonging to his enemy-friend of the opposite society. If, while they were singing, the owner of the lodge failed to appear, his enemy-friend would peep into the lodge and at this the owner, assisted by his relatives, would get busy and give food to be used in the feast of the society which was doing the begging. If the owner of the lodge were a prominent man, who wished to take this occasion to enhance further his reputation, he might give something really valuable to the singers and would have the opportunity later of bragging: "On such-and-such an occasion, this is what I gave you Wolf-men (or Star men)." If he were a really good sport, our informants said, he would even send his wife out to sing with the others. After something had been given to the society, the singers sang other special songs,[16] while the rest danced.

After obtaining in this fashion the wherewithal for the feast, the society members lined up two-by-two at the entrance of the camp circle. The two noted men carrying whips remained mounted, while the column stepped in time to the music provided by the singers, who were carrying the drum at the end of the procession. They wove in and out, snake-dance fashion, while

[14] A begging song of the Wolf-men was recorded as No. 98; two such songs of the Stars, as No. 96 and 97.

[15] Recorded as No. 101.

[16] Recorded as No. 95 and No. 100.

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555 342 539 The more war-deeds a man performed, the more frequently was he the center of attention. Gradually he began to rise above others and finally he achieved recognition as an outstanding warrior. Only when a man reached this enviable height was he justified in having his war record painted on his lodge for all the world to admire. When a newly painted lodge of this kind was first erected, the owner initiated its use by giving a feast to which other prominent warriors were invited. From among the guests, the host "pulled up" one who was able to tell four brave exploits, each connected in some way with a different lodge belonging to the enemy. At the conclusion of each separate account, the warrior who was reciting hit the taut new lodge a resounding blow, thus attracting attention. Then while the guests were feasting and smoking with the host, crowds gathered around to examine the lodge and to discuss the record depicted thereon. It was said, too, that similar discussions took place when the Gros Ventres met on friendly terms with other tribes. The reputation of the owner was thereby enhanced as his prowess was ever more widely acknowledged.

Enemy-Friends

572 In accordance with the general prestige pattern, an outstanding warrior, or one who had aspirations toward that end, was expected to be generous as well as brave. Particular significance attached, however, to the disposition of horses stolen from the enemy or of weapons or other trophies obtained from the enemy at risk of life. [605] The giving of such presents initiated a particular relationship between recipient and donor known as the enemy-friendship. This was a kind of "joking relationship" and involved the greatest amount of freedom between the two both in word and action. Whatever one enemy-friend said or did to the other had to be borne with equanimity. Loss of temper involved loss of prestige, and it was said that in some cases one enemy-friend had to suffer patiently audacity which would have led him to murder another not in that relationship. Each tried to out-do the other by kinds of speech and action ranging all the way from the most harmless teasing and jokes to the most humiliating exposition of foibles and misdemeanors.

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A man who was ambitious selected his enemy-friends with care so as to ensure opponents worthy of his efforts. It was said that often an older man whose reputation was already well established chose a spunky youngster. As The Boy phrased it, "This was an honor for the younger man and the older had nothing to lose. If the older continually won out over the younger in a fair 'fight' he ruined the younger man's reputation and thus eliminated a possible rival. On the other hand, if the younger man showed that he could take 'abuse' as well as give it, the older man could go along with him as an enemy-friend of long standing."

Everyone watched with interest the contest between well-matched enemy-friends whether they indulged in good-natured razzing of one another or whether they were concerned with more serious matters. When each tried to out-do the other in bragging of conquests both in love and at war, a large audience was attracted. Practical jokes were expected between them and the more vulgar and obscene their nature, the greater the enjoyment. Whenever one enemy-friend thought he "had something" on the other, he hastened to expose him publicly, so that the enemy-friendship often functioned as an effective means of social control.

When a man publicly taunted his enemy-friend, however, it was well for him to have ample grounds for the accusation lest the tables be turned against him as the case of Bull Lodge and Sits Like A Woman. This was told by The Boy.

"Sits Like A Woman was leading a war party out of camp as his enemy-friend, Bull Lodge, was returning from a hunt. Bull Lodge inquired of some members of the party as to who their leader might be. When he was told that Sits Like A Woman was the leader, Bull Lodge remarked: 'I'd hesitate to meet such warriors as yourselves were I the enemy, but Sits Like A Woman has no shame to lead such great men as you are!' Sits Like A Woman heard this and didn't forget it. The party was a very successful one, returning with 'charcoal' (scalps) and none of the Gros Ventres was even hurt. When they got home they sang around the camp circle here and there as usual. Bull Lodge at the time was entertaining many guests including his brothers-in-law who were seated near the entrance of the tipi. After Sits Like A

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572 Woman had sung around the circle once, he led his party to Bull Lodge's tipi. The latter was suspicious and thought: 'I'm in for it now!' Sits Like A Woman went up to Bull Lodge, took him by the arm and said: 'Come, my friend.' He led him to the middle of the group of returned warriors. He then faced Bull Lodge and said in a jesting way: 'Stand still or I'll kill you.' Bull Lodge stood there and Sits Like A Woman took his rifle and, drumming with the stock on Bull Lodge's back, sang the following song: 'He who poisons (i.e., a medicine man with power to kill) has no penis.' Bull Lodge and his brothers-in-law realized that Sits Like A Woman was in earnest because not only was the song a great insult, but the victim's brothers-in-law were present,—which they should not have been when any reference to private parts was made.[88] The war party took up the song with enthusiasm as Sits Like A Woman told Bull Lodge again: 'Don't move yet—I'll kill you anyway.' He took Bull Lodge's new Hudson Bay blanket and slit it in two; he slashed Bull Lodge's shirt and took it off him; he slashed his leggings and removed them; and finally he cut the belt so that the breech-cloth fell to the ground. Bull Lodge was standing there naked. By that time the brothers-in-law had stolen away, one by one. Bull Lodge knew better than to run away, and Sits Like A Woman said: 'Perhaps you have power to poison people. If you have a mind to poison me, go ahead and try. I'm not afraid of you. If you choose to pay me back that way, you might just as well try it on the sun. Or, if you choose to pay me back in the way I have treated you, go ahead. But first lead a successful war party. If you then do to me what I have done to you, I won't be mad. But I'll lead still another war party and do far worse to you that second time than I have done this time.'

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"After thinking it over, Bull Lodge decided to buy off his enemy-friend and the next morning he got together an armful of valuable things, filled a pipe and went to Sits Like A Woman. 'My friend,' he said, 'here's a pipe I am offering to you. You take this pipe so you will stop doing things like this to me. While I don't mind it, my brothers-in-law were there. And here are some things you can have.' Sits Like A Woman laughed, but ac-

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[88] Relationship between brothers-in-law precluded any reference to sex and bodily exposure in each other's presence. See pp. 118–19.

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cepted the pipe and gifts. Two days later Sits Like A Woman told his wives to cook and had the announcer call out: 'Bull Lodge, your friend Sits Like A Woman is inviting you to his lodge to smoke.' Others were likewise invited and when Bull Lodge arrived he was put in the place of honor. After they had eaten a good meal and had started to smoke, Sits Like A Woman said to Bull Lodge: 'My friend, you can rest assured that I'll never do that to you again. I went to that extreme because you told some of my party I was not fit to lead them. But I showed you what kind of a man I am. You are intelligent and I don't think you'll make a mistake like that again. Also its good you didn't get mad but took what I handed out to you. You probably regret the blanket and clothes I cut up. So here are my best clothes—you can have them.' Then, indicating his best race horse, he added: 'Lead that horse home and keep it.' Thus Sits Like A Woman publicly absolved Bull Lodge, but by heaping gifts upon him so generously he exposed him too."

If enemy-friends were relatives, usually they were of opposite sex and the joking aspects, rather than the spirit of rivalry, were predominant. Should the enemy-friendship be inaugurated between two relatives who otherwise were expected to be reserved in each other's presence, somewhat more freedom between them was permitted, although the taboo on reference to sex was said to have been strictly maintained.[24] Among other examples of this type of enemy-friendship, Coming Daylight gave the following from her own experience. "My husband's nephew, Crazy Bull, one time presented to me a horse he had captured from the enemy. Before that time we had always properly avoided speaking to each other unless it was necessary, but now we were enemy-friends and we could play jokes on each other and he would tease me, too. One time, for instance, during the night he piled up a big load of firewood just in front of the entrance to my lodge. He had hoped that when I went out in the morning I would open the flap and go out head foremost into the wood and lose my temper. He was there watching to see what would happen, but unfortunately for him, my grandmother was the first to venture forth and so the trick miscarried and counted for me rather than for him. I never liked

[24] For details on kinship behavior, see pp. 107–26.

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572 602 522 to play jokes, but I would get even with him by going over to his lodge when I would hear him abusing his wife. He had to stop when I came in there because if I actually caught him at it, I could dub him a wife-beater or worse in public."

562 572 602 While in most instances the enemy-friendship was initiated by men, women occasionally obtained war trophies on their own, and had the same privilege. The following, told by Singer, illustrates how she herself came by some war trophies and the manner in which she disposed of them. "One time, when the Piegan had attacked us and the Gros Ventres were pursuing them, I dashed out with some of my women relatives. We came upon three Piegan who had just been killed. Those other women stopped to hit them but I rode by more slowly and spotted some booty near one of the bodies. I dismounted and picked up a nail-studded belt to which was attached a scabbard containing a knife and a nicely beaded gun case. I didn't want to show these to the others, but when they taunted me because I failed to count coups as they had done, I showed them this belt. One of them grabbed the scabbard, which I had intended to give to my own husband, saying: 'You are giving me this. Now we are enemy-friends!' To my nephew I later gave the gun case, saying as I threw it down in front of him: 'Here. You could have this for your gun. This is what I took in war.' The knife I threw down in front of my grandmother and, because we were now enemy-friends, I used a 'bad' name for her —I called her 'you who don't wipe your behind.'"

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So he rushed into his father's lodge, but another of his sisters-in-law went in and saw him sitting down, and said to me: 'You two have lost, and we have won, because your partner sat down first.' Since I didn't have anything to put up as fine, my husband's brother pulled my eyebrows out, as was customary when a person couldn't pay a debt of this kind. My partner, however, gave a feast prepared by his mother as payment, but failed to include me. I got even with him by coming up behind him one day shortly thereafter and emptying a pail of water over his head."

Whether he liked it or not, a man had to take without complaint whatever kind of speech or action his own brother directed towards his wife, and likewise a woman had to put up with whatever her sister said or did to her husband. Men who were married to sisters considered each other as "brothers" rather than as brothers-in-law, just as women married to brothers were "sisters" and not sisters-in-law.

Inseparable-friends

As broadly as kinship bonds were conceived among the Gros Ventres in both consanguineal and affinal relationships, kinship behavior and obligations were extended even more widely through the institution of "inseparable-friends." Coming Daylight explained this as follows: "If two men are *inithiha* this means that they have grown up together and are the same as brothers although they are not really kin to each other. The children of these two men would be the same as brothers and sisters to each other and could not marry. All relatives of 'inseparable-friends' were considered as own relatives. Crow's Bull's 'inseparable-friend' was Truth. He knew all the songs that belonged to the Flat Pipe because Crow Bull was Keeper and the two were so much together. Truth always called Crow Bull's son 'son,' and he called me 'niece' because Crow Bull was my mother's brother. A woman could tease the 'inseparable-friend' of her husband in just the same way she could tease her brother-in-law."

Cora illustrated how complicated relationships could become through the inseparable-friendship. "My brother and Arthur Skinner were such friends, which made Arthur my 'brother.' When Arthur married I should normally have taken his wife as 'sister-

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in-law.' The difficulty was that this woman Arthur married was already my 'aunt' because her father and my own were 'inseparable-friends.' Maybe in the old days Arthur couldn't have married her. But anyway we solved the situation by letting the older relationship take precedence over the newer one, so I called her 'aunt' rather than 'sister-in-law.'"

Some other pairs of "inseparable-friends," who were mentioned, were Cora's maternal grandfather and Consume It; Dressed In White and Ibe; Curley Head and Eagle Child. It was stated that while one friend was supposed to offer his life for the other in case of necessity, it did not always work out this way and at least one example was given to prove the point.

Regarding the same type of institutionalized friendship between women, the evidence is not clear. Singer stated: "When they use the word *itóhaha* it means that the two women concerned were friends from early childhood to the end of their lives. I had a friend like that. The father of that girl considered me as his own daughter and I had to respect her brother all my life. This girl was a cousin of Coming Daylight and we two were closer than sisters because we were the same age. We played together, worked together and did everything together. We used to eat at each other's homes, and we kept in touch after marriage by visiting back and forth." Coming Daylight suggested that these two were such close friends because their fathers may have been "inseparable-friends" and she denied that two women would participate in a relationship of the kind which would bind their families together independently of formalized friendship between men. No further information was obtained on this aspect of the subject.

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763 property.[4] Although in the following case ideal conditions did not obtain, the account as given by an old woman illustrates something of the attitudes which prevailed even after the Gros Ventres had settled down. "My husband had been ill. We were very badly off, having nothing to eat and no light, but worst of all my husband had no suitable clothes in which to pass his last moments. A friend of his fortunately came to the rescue, bringing new clothes, food, a fancy new lamp and fuel. A short time after this my husband called to me to come to him and said: 'I have lost life long ago. The only thing I have left is my eyesight. I can see, but I will be leaving you soon. Bring me the bundle my friend has given me.' I did so and as he examined the new clothing piece by piece he said: 'Now I am glad I shall have something to wear. I want you to listen carefully. I don't want you to mourn—we have too many children for that, and they must be cared for. Don't go to your relatives nor to mine. We have been very poor since I have been sick and none of them has even come to see us. I want you to go straight to the home of this man who has given me these clothes. Now I am ready to go.' After my husband [587] died, I did just as he had requested. In spite of all the gossip, I married that man. People were talking about me because that man had at one time been married to a wife of my mother's brother."

764 If circumstances did not permit arrangements to be made before death, as soon as possible after death the corpse was washed and dressed. This office was performed preferably by friends of the [572] deceased since it was not expected of near relatives because "they felt too bad." Should the deceased not own a proper outfit, one was usually somehow provided. Coming Daylight remembered that one time when a small boy was drowned, the child's distracted mother came running to her lodge saying: "I am very poor and my little boy has no good clothes to wear. Will you let me have your little boy's clothes?" Coming Daylight felt so sorry for this woman that she let her have her own son's nicely beaded clothes and moccasins, and gave her a blanket as well. After the body was dressed, they laid it on this blanket in the place of honor at the back of the parents' lodge.

[4] Kroeber, 1908, p. 180, notes that "A man often disposed of his property before death."

4: Flannery & Cooper E-5 (1939-1945) 1946
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only his property and so have to begin accumulating again from scratch, but might at the same time lose as well his standing in the tribe and become a defeated and disgraced nobody, of a low standing from which it was very difficult to rise in the scale.

The wheel game was not played by women or children, nor apparently by the very young men, but only by fully adult or middle-aged men and older ones, and by only two players at a time. The really big games with large stakes were in most cases, it seems—almost all, according to our informants—played by two "enemy friends" or "war friends." Such enemy friends or war friends were very different from ordinary friends or "true" pledged friends. An "enemy friendship" was a war-related compact entered into in the following manner. A member of a returning war party would give some trophy or booty he had taken from the enemy—e.g., a scalp, or horse, or weapon—to one of his own compatriots of the same or opposite sex, who had little choice but to accept. Acceptance made "enemy friends" or "war friends" of the two. War friends, particularly if unrelated and both males, could go the limit in twitting and insulting each other and in playing practical jokes, even rather outrageous ones, on each other, and the victim had to take such behavior in good part, at least externally. However, along with the privilege of taking such liberties ran the accepted obligation to stand by each other in real need or hazard of grave nature.

The two war friends could gamble with each other. In fact, gambling among the Gros Ventre reached at times its climax in contests between two war friends. A wheel game between war friends commonly arose out of a "bragging match" between them; one would challenge the other to play the wheel game. If the one challenged declined to accept the challenge, his war friend who challenged him, and his other war friends, would ever after take occasion to deride him publicly for it at the least provocation. So the challenge could not easily be declined. The game often became one in which each enemy friend would go out to strip the other of practically everything he owned—horses, gun, blankets, lodge—and at which the most eager interest was aroused among the relatives, fellow-clansmen, and friends of the respective players and, for that matter, among the whole camp population. Such enemy-friend contests were commonly protracted sessions, often all-day ones, at the wheel game.

The following three narratives of particular wheel-game gambling contests—the first two of which are matters of well-remembered recent history, the third an older traditional story paralleled elsewhere on the Plains—throw some further light on the social role of the Gros Ventre wheel game.

4: Flannery & Cooper E-5 (1939-1945) 1946
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525 572 578 538 *Narrative 1.* In 1893 two Gros Ventre, enemy friends to each other, Red Whip who died in 1912 and Many Tail Feathers, got into a gambling game with the wheel. Many Tail Feathers was losing and he got angry. He grabbed Red Whip and they had a rought-and-tumble tussle. They fell to the ground, with Red Whip on top, astraddle Many Tail Feathers. Red Whip drew his knife, cut off all of the other's hair, at which loss the latter cried while the people cheered a cheer of contempt. Red Whip acting as if he had scalped an enemy, threw the hair in the air, and said in the hearing of all: "What's the matter with you, my friend? You must have a weak heart. Look at me. This is what I did to my enemy [such and such a time]. You know all about it. I just wanted to show you that I am your superior in matters of this kind. But anyhow you can have that good horse of mine."

[115] *Narrative 2.* Lame Bull, father of The Boy, our chief informant on gambling, died in 1908 at the age of 83 or 84 years. Lame Bull, when still a fairly young man, a rising one with prospects of rising higher and higher in the prestige scale, had been chosen as an enemy friend by White Owl, an older man, and Lame Bull had, according to custom, accepted the offer. An offer of enemy friendship was on the one hand almost mandatory, and on the other, where it came from an outstanding man of great experience and ability, as in this case, it was a real honor to the recipient and would rarely be refused.

When Lame Bull and White Owl became enemy friends, they "started to act like two roosters" and were saying to themselves: "I am going to get you when you *are off your guard.*" *Both knew that at some time or another, sooner or later, they* would have to do something to put their enemy friendship to the greatest test. After much sparring around, the two men engaged in a wheel game as just such a climactic test. At this game White Owl had a big reputation (besides all his other accomplishments), while Lame Bull had no reputation at all at it.

On this occasion Lame Bull wagered everything he owned, and all his wife's property, including their lodge. As it was customary at such events for the kinsmen of the respective players to bet on their kinsman, Lame Bull's father, together with other relatives wagered large stakes on him, although the father was strongly opposed on principle to such betting and had always counseled Lame Bull strenuously against it. More, however, than large amounts of property was at stake; the players' relative and absolute standing in the tribe hung upon the outcome. In the case of Lame Bull and White Owl, the former a younger man of great promise, the latter an older one of recognized prominence, the rivalry was keen and, in a very true sense, ruthless. The older man was jealous of his great reputation and did not want any one to get near him in prestige. He was trying to crush Lame Bull's rising career betimes lest later Lame Bull might outdo him. At the same time, White Owl stood to profit even if he lost, for he would still be attached as enemy friend to Lame Bull and would have reflected prestige from being the enemy friend of this rising man. He would thus profit inevitably by the latter's prestige.

Lame Bull lost everything in the contest, and, of course, his father and relatives lost heavily. White Owl's people tore down Lame Bull's lodge and took it away as winnings and took everything in it, even down to the dishes of Lame Bull's wife. At the end of the playing, Lame Bull was an object of charity and a laughing stock.

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About the only thing that earned him a bit of recognition was the fact that in spite of his loss of property and of status—to have recognition at all you had to have some possessions to hold and to give away in presents—and in spite of the strutting and crowing and twitting by the winner and his followers after the playing was over, Lame Bull did not lose his temper. 525 572 578 538

When the playing ended, Lame Bull had nothing of his own except his wife. So his father and mother invited them to eat. Downcast, embarrassed, ashamed, "feeling like a small potato," he ate. When he had finished, his father gave him such a tongue lashing that Lame Bull, who was very fond of his father, cried, and Lame Bull was a strong man who did not easily cry. He felt so bad that he went out on the hills and cried and cried, and slept out there, and came back a pretty sorry young man. And for a long time after, his wife, who also was one of his enemy friends, would throw this up to him: "Oh, you are nothing. You were always weak. Look what your enemy friend did to you. You will never amount to anything." And she would say such things to him especially when others were present. So she set about training him. At any rate Lame Bull was cured of gambling by his great loss to White Owl.

As time went on, Lame Bull recovered from the defeat which might have wrecked for good the career of another. His people had given him enough property to make a new start in life. He would invite White Owl to his lodge and give him big feasts and would make valuable presents of horses and such things to him. And White Owl would make a mental note of these things and would say to himself: "All right, my friend, you wait and see what I will do for you", awaiting the proper time to reciprocate, as was Gros Ventre custom. So a long time afterwards White Owl made very valuable presents to Lame Bull. And they were very good friends.

Narrative 3. Long ago, the story runs, a young Gros Ventre warrior went off alone on a war raid. He got to a mountain, and after nightfall went into a cave to camp overnight. On feeling around in the darkness he found some one else there, and said to himself: "An enemy." To make sure he asked by touching the skin of the other's forearm. The other by wiggling his finger on the Gros Ventre's chest signified: "I am a Snake Indian." So the Gros Ventre took the Snake's hand and made the sign of "big belly" to signify: "I am a Gros Ventre." 525 648 538

The Gros Ventre then said to the Snake: "Let's not fight tonight. You go to sleep and I'll go to sleep. Tomorrow morning we'll see what we'll do." But being afraid of each other, neither slept at all during the night.

The next morning the Gros Ventre asked the Snake: "Friend, where were you going?" He replied: "On the war path." "Alone?" "Yes, all alone." The Snake then asked the same questions and got the same answers. Then the Gros Ventre said: "We are both alone. Instead of killing each other, let's gamble with the wheel. The loser loses his scalp to the winner."

So they started to play, with such things as bow and arrows and clothing for stakes, and the Snake won everything from the Gros Ventre. Then the Gros Ventre proposed: "Friend, you stake all you have won, in a lump, against my scalp," and this was agreed upon. At this point the Gros Ventre got afraid he would lose, so

621 Members of one band could and not infrequently did gamble both for small
525 and for big stakes against members of other bands, just as one kinship group used to gamble against others. Tribal we-feeling certainly existed, but seemingly not as intense as band we-feeling, just as, in turn, the latter was not as intense as kin we-feeling. In inter-band, as in inter-kin, gambling, spectators, if they bet at all, would lay their wagers on the players of their own band, as required by band loyalty, regardless of the relative skill and reputation of the contesting players or teams.

575 For Gros Ventre men who had reached full adulthood and were still in the
[885] prime of life, there were two age-societies, called the Stars and the Wolves (or
525 Wolf-men). These two groups, with soldier-police functions, would join forces when necessary in keeping order, in fighting fires, and in defending the whole tribe against enemies, but for the rest rivalry between them was pretty keen. Stars would gamble against Wolves in big games for large stakes, but ordinarily a Star would not gamble against a Star or a Wolf against a Wolf, except for refreshments or a smoke or similar trifling "stakes." Inasmuch as membership in the two societies cut across the lines of kinship and band membership, inter-society gambling suffered an important restriction: if a Star were gambling in a given game, his relatives among the Wolves would not play or bet against him in that particular game. Kinship ties took precedence over society ties.

525 Gros Ventre would of course gamble for big stakes against members of other
648 tribes with whom they happened to be at the time on sufficiently good terms, or at least not bitterly and actively hostile, to meet and foregather peacefully, such as the Piegan, Flathead, Nez Percé, and Cree. In such intertribal contests they would often go out to win every possession of their opponents.

572 The Gros Ventre distinguished three kinds of friends: ordinary friends,
525 true or pledged friends, and enemy or war friends. As a rule ordinary close friends would not take opposite sides in a big gambling game. This was all the more true of pledged friends. Two boys, for instance, who liked each other
[608] and who had perhaps grown up together would, though belonging to different bands, enter into a sort of "sworn brotherhood," give each other presents, exchange intimate confidences, and promise, without religious rite of any kind, to stand by each other always, even to death if necessary. Two girls could also enter into a similar pact. Such "true" or pledged friends never gambled against each other either as players or as backers, at least never for stakes of value.

Of enemy or war friends we have previously spoken when describing the wheel game. Two enemy friends would gamble against each other for small stakes or big, the bigger the better. In fact a hand game for big stakes between

4: Flannery & Cooper E-5 (1939-1945) 1946
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two enemy friends to strip the loser bare of everything he owned, down to his very lodge, was, like a wheel game of the same order of magnitude, a crowning event in Gros Ventre gambling, one arousing most intense popular interest. One of our informants was, in view of this fact, of the opinion that gambling among the Gros Ventre may have been first invented by enemy friends.

The keepers of the two most sacred pipes, the Flat Pipe and the Feathered Pipe, were not allowed to gamble with any one, nor were their wives, nor (probably: our chief informant was not sure) ex-keepers. Rare exceptions may have occurred in practice. Should an enemy friend of a keeper taunt him into betting and should the challenger lose, he would lose not only his wager but also in a sense his life. For his life would in consequence be shortened, unless the keeper took pity on him and through submitting him to the appropriate ritual procedure averted the penalty. It was believed too that the keeper could not lose if, against the rules, he really did gamble. Gamblers, at least notorious ones, were not selected as pipe keepers.

Keepers and their wives were subject to a great many other restrictions. They had to maintain a high degree of dignity, to practise many kinds of abstention and "asceticism," and to be benefactors to and intercessors for all the people. It seems probably that the taboo on their gambling was related to one or more of these aspects of the keepership.

Ritual "grandfathers" among the Gros Ventre were of two kinds. A retiring sacred-pipe keeper became automatically "grandfather" to the incoming keeper and instructed him in the ritual, prerogatives and duties of the keepership; a candidate for a sacred lodge chose an older man who had been through the rite as a ritual "grandfather" who would instruct him in the ceremonies and observances of the lodge in question. A person would never gamble against his ritual grandfather. The relationship established between grandfather and grandchild in both cases was predominantly a respectful and sacred one. Against his ritual grandfather a man would not even play in the modern non-gambling 4-button hand game.

The foregoing rather intricate "bettor-wager" gambling pattern appears to be the result of the orderly interplay of five chief determinants or conditioning factors.

The most important and most basic determinant was that of in-group altruism, cohesion, and loyalty, decreasing in intensity from closer and smaller circle to more distant and larger circle, from biological family, to kinship group, to band, to lodge and society, to tribe as such, to more or less friendly alien tribe, and stopping short of hostile alien tribe. In general, the less intense the

796 be repeated so that it was something of an ordeal. The sword owners would see to it that the dancers kept up, prodding the laggards until the series of songs had been completed.

[533 177] The singers themselves had a smoking song, one of the few songs of the Grass dance for which words were adopted along with the tunes [11] from the Assiniboine. This song indicated a period of rest and relaxation for all but it was required that one of the officers provide the pipe and mixture for the singers.

Any member who left the dancing-place was obliged to surrender some piece of personal property as insurance that he would return. If he did not come back, the property was forfeit.

796 [43] 586 Another distinctive feature of the earlier Grass dance was the throwing away of property and especially of wives. The term "throwing away" is appropriate because a stick was held in the hand and after the holder publicly announced what the stick represented he would throw it to the ground. If, for instance, a member of the society had decided to give away his wife he would take a stick and say: "Here is so-and-so (naming the woman)" and throw the stick down. Sometimes another member would pick up the stick, thus indicating that he was taking this woman, but occasionally it happened that no one grabbed her and in such case the wife in question would return to live with her own relatives. The man who so renounced his wife was supposed to be through with her for good. It was said by informants, however, that once in a while, provided the wife had not been claimed by another, the husband would want her back again. An instance in illustration of this point was told to me. A man who stood to my informant in the relation of enemy-friend [12] had so disposed of his wife at a Grass dance. Some time later my informant saw the couple together again. My informant took ad-

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[533 177] [11] Most of the Gros Ventre Grass dance songs have no words proper. This contrasts with the Arapaho Grass dance songs, as my informants are well aware. The difference is perhaps due to the influence on the Arapaho of the Ghost Dance religion (cf. Kroeber, A. L., The Arapaho, AMNH-B 18, pt. 4, 1907, p. 320), which scarcely affected the Gros Ventres.

[572] [12] This was a joking and rivalry relationship entered into by presenting to a fellow tribesman an object captured from the enemy.

7: Flannery E-5 (1940, 1945) 1947
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vantage of the occasion, as she had the right to do, to make fun of her enemy-friend without his being able to retaliate. She took a handful of horse manure and rubbed it all over his face saying, "Oh! All of us at the Grass dance saw you throw her away, why are you going with her again?" and in this way called attention to the fact that he was not so "brave" as he had pretended to be.

Another informant stated that she and her sister were just able to escape the embarrassing experience of so being given away. They were both living with a man who was a prominent member of the Wolf society. One of his fellow-members, however, came to the two women and told them that their husband planned on throwing them both away at the forthcoming Grass dance. My informant was very angry to get this news and said to her sister: "We will get ready and get rid of him first!" Whereupon they packed their belongings and taking their own horses went quickly to their mother's brother. My informant said that this man who was going to throw them away tried many times to speak to her thereafter but she always turned away and refused to listen, thinking to herself: "Well, there are plenty of other men."

As a final point in the discussion of the earlier form of the Grass dance, the custom of members giving away presents in honor of their loved ones should be mentioned. This was a purely voluntary procedure and could be done by any member who wished to do so at any performance of the Grass dance. The following is a typical example of how this was carried out. The same informant last mentioned, married another member of the Wolf society not long after the incident she described above, and had been selected as one of the four women singers for the Grass dance. At one performance she was holding her infant daughter. her first child by this marriage, as she sang. Her husband, wishing to honor his little daughter, told a war story, went to his wife and took the child in his arms and, going to the center of the dancing-place, gave away a horse to one of the Assiniboine who happened to be visiting at the time of the dance.

Such was the form of the Grass dance as carried out by the